

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03  
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06  
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R 030759Z MAR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6845  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMCONSUL MUNICH

C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 1520

EO 11652XGDS-1  
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, PL  
SUBJ: POLISH DISSIDENCE

REF: A. BRAINARD-SEKULSKI MEMCON OF DECEMBER 16, 1976,  
B. BRAINARD MEMCON OF DECEMBER 29, 1976

1. THE EMBASSY HAS ACQUIRED A COPY OF AN UNSIGNED, EIGHT-PAGE "NEWSLETTER," ENTITLED "ON THE THRESHOLD" (U PROGU). THE DOCUMENT IS DATED JANUARY 1977, AND PRUPOINTS TO BE THE FOURTH OF A SERIES.

2. THE DOCUMENT IS DIVIDED INTO SIX MAIN SECTIONS AS FOLLOWS:

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A. "IN A VICIOUS CIRCLE." CENTERING ON PREMIER JAROSZEWICZ'S SPEECH TO THE SEJM IN DECEMBER 2, 1976, THE AUTHORS SAY THAT JAROSZEWICZ MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE PARTY HAS BEEN UNABLE TO KEEP ITS PROMISES AND HAS BEEN FORCED TO APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE FOR RESOLUTION OF THE SAME OLD PROBLEMS. "RATHER THAN A DESCRIPTION OF REALITY, THE PEOPLE RECEIVE PROMISES, APPEALS, AND INTRI-

CATE EXPLANATIONS...IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, THE LANGUAGE OF THE PARTY'S PRONOUNCEMENTS, WHICH IS PARTY-BUREAUCRATIC-MILITARISTIC DIALECTIC, MUST BE STRESSED. IT IS INTENDED TO CREATE AN IMPRESSION OF ENERGY, VITALITY, AND, ABOVE ALL, OF PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE OF THE RULERS. THE GREATER THE INCOMPETENCE OF THE RULERS, THE GREATER THEIR MISTAKES AND FAILURES, THE MORE THE LANGUAGE OF THEIR SPEECHES ACQUIRES AN INCOMPREHENSIBLE, PSUEDO-SCIENTIFIC CHARACTER, AND THE LONGER THEY BECOME."

B. THE SECOND SECTION, ENTITLED "THE POSITION IN THE COUNTRY," RELATES ACTIVITIES OF THE WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE AND OTHER DISSIDENT NEWS. A "CITIZENS' PROPOSAL", CALLING FOR THE FORMATION OF A COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE THE PERFORMANCE OF THE POLISH AUTHORITIES IN CARRYING OUT THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, IS ALSO REPORTED. THIS PROPOSAL ORIGINATED IN LODZ, AND THE NAMES OF ITS THREE AUTHORS ARE GIVEN (REF A).

C. "CURRENT EVENTS." THIS PORTION CONTAINS A CLAIM THAT A TRAIN CRASH WHICH OCCURRED NEAR CZESTOCHOWA LATE LAST YEAR WAS THE RESULT OF DELIBERATE SABOTAGE OF THE TRACKS. WORKERS' PROTESTS, UNCONNECTED TO LAST JUNE'S EVENTS, AT SEVERAL ENTERPRISES ARE REPORTED, AS WELL AS REPRISAL ACTIONS BY THE AUTHORITIES. THE "LUXURIOUS" MENU AT A MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR GUESTHOUSE IN OLECEK IS GIVEN IN DETAIL. IT ALSO NOTES THAT VICE PREMIER JOZEF KEPKA'S HOME IN WARSAW WAS THE ONLY HOUSE ON ITS STREET TO RECEIVE CITY HEATING AND HOT WATER. SEVERAL

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CHURCH-RELATED ACTIVITIES ARE ALSO REPORTED.

D. A SECTION ENTITLED "ECONOMIC MATTERS" COMPLAINS ABOUT THE SUBJUGATION OF THE POLISH AVIATION INDUSTRY TO THE USSR. OTHER REPORTS DEAL WITH THE PROVISION OF MEAT CARDS AND SPECIAL STORES, FOR POLICEMEN, THE CONTINUING CONFISCATION OF PRIVATE FARMLAND, AND THE SHORTAGE OF COAL AND FODDER THROUGHOUT POLAND.

E. "FROM ABROAD." THIS SECTION LISTS ARTICLES ABOUT POLAND WHICH HAVE APPEARED IN THE WESTERN PRESS. IT ALSO GIVES FACTS IN THE CASES OF THE ROCK MUSICIANS WHO WERE ARRESTED IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA SOME TIME AGO, AS WELL AS REPORTING THAT THE SOVIETS TRADED BUKOVSKY FOR CORVALAN.

F. THE FINAL SECTION IS CALLED "AT THE LAST MOMENT," AND REPORTS THAT APPEALS FOR THE CREATION OF AN OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT BODY TO INVESTIGATE LAST JUNE'S

EVENTS CONTINUE TO COME TO THE SEJM. IT GIVES ADAM WOJCIECHOWSKI'S VIEWS THAT THE SEJM COMMISSION ON INTERNAL MATTERS ONLY HEARD THE AUTHORITIES' SIDE OF THE STORYJ DURING ITS HEARINGS ON THE JUNE EVENTS AND THAT THOSE WHO HAD MADE WRITTEN COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE AUTHORITIES HAD BEEN COERCED INTO WITHDRAWING THEM. IN THESE CONDITIONS, WOJCIECHOWSKI SUPPORTS THE PROPOSALS OF THE WDL FOR CREATION OF A SPECIAL COMMISSION AND BACKS THE WDL AS REPRESENTING THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE. IF NOTHING IS DONE, WOJCIECHOWSKI SAYS, THE POLISH PEOPLE "...WILL BE FORCED TO RESORT TO A TACTIC USED ONLY ONCE IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE WARS, THAT IT, A BOYCOTT OF THE NEXT SEJM ELECTIONS."

3. THE EMBASSY IS FORWARDING A COPY OF U PROGU TO EUR/EE ATTENTION ALAN THOMPSON.

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4. COMMENT: THE BRITISH EMBASSY SPECULATES THAT U PROGU ORIGINATED IN LONDON, GIVEN ITS USE OF SYMBOLS AND REFERENCES COMMON TO PRE-WAR POLAND AND BECAUSE IT ALONE OF ALL OPPOSITION PUBLICATIONS IS MEMEOGRAPHED. A LEADING POLISH DISSIDENT, HOWEVER, TOLD US AGAIN ON MARCH 1 THAT U PROGU IS A DOMESTIC PRODUCT. HE RECALLED HIS PREVIOUS REMARKS (REF B) THAT U PROGU REPRESENTS A NON-SOCIALIST VIEWPOINT. END COMMENT.

DAVIES

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NNN

## Message Attributes

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**Review Markings:**  
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